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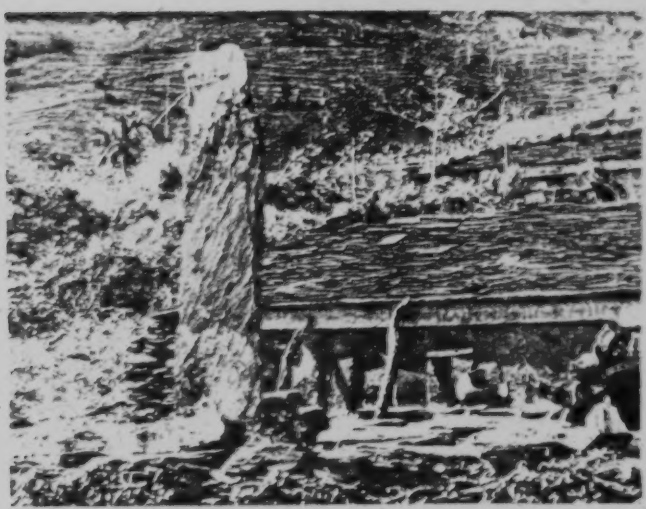
1 平地村 Pinatwanan 排灣人部落 Chiumuan 群(之一部) (何廷瑞攝)
Scene of Chala'alus Village, Pingtung Hsien



2 平地村大龍山之宗祠與祖先石柱 (何廷瑞攝)
The house of the *aruanang* and ancestral pillar, Chala'alus Village, Pingtung Hsien

/E. 112 a (Jacing p. 2½, Chinese text)

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INVESTIGATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHALA'ABUS PAIWAN, PINGTUNG HSIEN

WEI HWEI-LIN
Translated by CHEN CHI-LU

This is a preliminary report of the field-works among the Chala'abus Paiwan of Pingtung Hsien. Members who participated were Messrs. Ho Ting-jui, Tang Mei-chun, Huang Hsün-ch'eng and the present writer.

Chala'abus village was chosen because: it is one of the important and old tribes of the Central Paiwan, and, is the center of the Chimo racial group of the Paiwan. We have noted after the field-session that the village had other significances: (1) The village consisted of twelve aristocratic households whether of the Chimo or of the Paiwan groups. The village organization was thus rather complicated in structure. (2) The dwelling houses and their arrangement had been well preserved in their original form. (3) Old traits in material culture, such as stone-engraving, wood-carving, designed weaving, and embroidery, had been also well kept. (4) The ethnic character is rather conservative. They have been comparatively less influenced by the Japanese and the Chinese as compared to the other groups of the tribe.

Because of the limitation of time and investigators, we emphasized tribal organization and chieftanship of the village. Our field-work was undertaken from Feb. 1 to 15. Because of the complexity of the culture, the investigation is by no means a complete one.

SETTLEMENT TYPE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION

Chala'abus village is situated on the south-eastern slope of Mt. Nan-ta-wu and stands on the northern bank of the Lai-i River or the Upper Lin-pien River. The population of Chala'abus village was 158 households and 948 persons at the time of our investigation. With the Exception of 12 households who had moved to Chinasan which lies between the village site and the plain below it and formed a separate hamlet by themselves, all the other 146 households were concentrated on the two adjacent fan-shaped slopes which in the present report are referred to as the village site. The village of Chala'abus hence consisted of two parts: the south and the north-parts. Each of them occupied a fan-shaped slope. The south-part was called Chinimoan or "the living land of the Chimo", and the north-part Pinaiwanan or "the living land of the Paiwan". The village site was on a slope of 30 degree to 45 degree inclination, with the width north to south 80 M., and length east to west 100 M. Dwelling houses, including floors and roofs, were built of slate. All these houses had small front yards paved with slate. A continuous row of houses of the same level had their yards adjacent on the same level; but communication between two rows of houses was by means of narrow stair-ways, because the front yards of houses in the rear row were always on a level with the roofs of the front houses. The village is thus in a terrace form. Chinimoan consisted of eight terraces, and Pinaiwanan ten. Each terrace had a row

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of five to twelve houses. Chinimoaŋ had 55 houses and Pinaiwanaŋ 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsaŋiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvaniau* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvaniau* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoaŋ. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tfaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoaŋ, while the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tfalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanaŋ. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoaŋ. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoaŋ and Pinaiwanaŋ has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tfalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tfalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tfalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tfalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tfalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusigunan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

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ARISTOCRACY AND LINEAGE SYSTEM

The political system of Chala'abus village is aristocratic and resembles that of the feudalism of the Chou Dynasty. It is established on two foundations: (1) The first is the tax and tributary system based on the ownership of land. (2) The second is the class system based on lineage rule.

The class system of Chala'abus differs with that of the North Paiwan. The North Paiwan system has three grades: (1) the *mamatsayiran*, (2) the *maluvtsivtsik*, and (3) the *pualu*. The Chala'abus system lacks the third grade *pualu*. The aristocratic class is generally called *mamatsayiran*, and is divided into two subclasses: (1) the upper grade is called *avusamay*, (2) the lower grade is again subdivided into the *maluvtsivtsik* or consanguineous, and the *naitsu a nʔnmax* or affinal. The big chief *ruvaniau* belongs to the Chimo group. Three *maluvtsivtsik* of the *ruvaniau* are the south *tʃalas*, the north *tʃalas*, and the *tʃaluŋi*. Among the *naitsu a numax* are the *voto*, the *taraʔatea*, the *gumul*, the *mätsiliat*, and the *tʃalusayiu* of the Chimo, and the *atsinajay*, the *lusiguay* and the *aliolay* of the Paiwan. The big chief *ruvaniau* possesses one third of the cultivated land of the village. The north and the south *tʃalas* possess another one third. And the remainder is in the hands of other chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. These chiefs rent their lands to commoners of the villages, so commoners are serfs (*unutel*) and nobles landlords. Each chief has a vassal household (*utsiputsipoŋ*) to take care of the rental business. The office of the vassal is hereditary, but he is a commoner and owns no land by himself.

The above mentioned aristocratic system is established on the basis of the lineage system. One who first established his household in the village is regarded as the grand lineage. The elder offspring, regardless of sex, is the heir or *usam* to succeed the household. Offspring other than the heir will leave the household and establish a new one when he is married and is regarded as the lesser lineage or *muluvtsivtsik*. The succession of the lesser lineage is similar to that of grand lineage. But offspring other than the heir of the lesser lineage will be degraded as commoner when he departs the household. The *utsiputsipoŋ* is a commoner who is chosen by a aristocratic household to be their vassal. The heir of the *utsiputsipoŋ* household succeeds his father's office. It is worth to note that members of the grand lineage of the *utsiputsipoŋ* are prohibited to intermarry with members of the grand lineage of their aristocratic household.

LINEAGE RULE AND MARRIAGE RULE

A. Lineage rule

The kinship organization is a lineage group with a family as its nucleus. Each family has its own *umax* or house. The *umax* or house has a special significance to the Chala'abus family system. Each house has its *ŋatay a numax* or house name. One who is born in the house is named after the name of the house. Members live in the house include a married couple, the heir or heiress and sometimes his or her spouse and other unmarried offspring of this married couple. The elder son or daughter succeeds his or her parents as the head of lineage group and remains to live in the house. Other offsprings are either married to the heir or heiress of another household

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or establish a new house if not married to an heir or heiress. There is, thus, a lineal relation between these households. One which has a further relationship with the household from which it derived is lower in rank. Their lineage rules may be summarized as follows:

a) A household is the nucleus of this lineage system.

b) The lineage who first established their house in the village is regarded as the grand lineage or *mamatsayiran*.

c) The house and the name of the house are succeeded too by primogeniture regardless of sex. The heir or *usam* must remain in the house and succeed to the name.

d) Each offspring other than the heir who is married to the heir of another household or establish a new household and take a new house name if married to one who is not the heir, is called the lesser lineage or *maluwtsivtsik*.

e) The rule of succession of a lesser lineage is similar to that of a grand lineage. The son of a lesser lineage is degraded to become commoner or *tala'alalak*.

f) Offspring of a vassal household other than the heir are degraded as commoners.

g) If the household has no heir, it is succeeded by the second son or daughter, even he or she is married out. This second son or daughter who has established a lesser lineage of his own, will give his own lineage up, and return to his prime house to succeed to the lineage. If a lesser lineage has no heir, it may be succeeded to by members from the grand lineage. The vassal will take care of the grand lineage when the heir to succeed the lineage is not yet decided.

B. Marriage rules

a) Residence

1. The heir of a household must remain in the house, and have his spouse come to live with him.

2. Family members other than the heir may marry a heir of another household and goes to his spouse's house.

3. When both the husband and the wife are no heir or heiress, they will establish a new house and have a neolocal residence.

4. If a heir marries with a heiress, this new couple will succeed to both households.

b) Class

1. One who marries one of his own rank is called *metsevoŋ*. Their offsprings belong to the same rank.

2. One who marries one of a higher rank is called *sluŋua*. He himself and his offsprings will have a higher rank too.

3. One who marries one of a lower rank is called *sluŋoja*. He and his offsprings will have a lower rank too.

The Paiwan practise endogamy but not in a strict sense. It may be estimated by the quantity of the bride price. A certain quantity of bride price is set for a certain

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582 565 556 583 class. A man of the lower class must pay as much as or more than that of a upper class member if he wants to marry one above himself. The lower class member does not marry one above him because he can not afford to do so.

C. Incest prohibition

601 835 The kindred group of the Paiwan is bilateral. The present writer has assigned it as occasional bi-sexual lineage. No emphasis upon either the paternal or the maternal consanguinities is made. No distinction between lineal and collateral is made in addressed terms, but it is made in indirect and collective terms. Those who have the same parents are called *maluvluŋuluŋa*, those who have the same grand parents, *malusiatsətsəl*, those have the same grand-grand parents, *malusiatsalaitaita*, and those have the same grand-grand-grand parents, *malusiapatsətsəv*. *malusiatsəlsəl* are prohibited to marry. *malusiatsalaitsata* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa putsəl*, they are allowed to marry. *malusiapatsetsev* are also called *naŋaʔaŋa lavatsə putsəl*, they are the most prefered mates. Relative beyond the *malusiapatsətsəv* are called *aolav*. *aolav* are allowed to marry with each other, but they are not as preferable as the *malusiapatsətsəv*, and even the *malusiatsalaitaita*. It is noteworthy that these marriage prohibitions are not to supplement the rule of exogamy but serve as the limitations of the rule of endogamy.

TRIBAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 The tribal chieftainship of Chala'abus village differs with the dual chieftainship of the North-Paiwan, and may be regarded as a kind of mutual independence of the three powers: political, religious, and military. The political and economic powers are in the hands of the Chimo chiefs. The religious powers are equally distributed over the chiefs of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. The nomination of a *paraʔare* or priest is determined by a kind of divination called *paiwata*. The military powers fall in hands of the commoners. The office of the priest of the headhunting ritual (*paraʔare na ara*) is held hereditary by the *tsivulaŋaŋ* household of commoner. The tribal chiefs and their offices are listed as follows:

A. Political and economic chiefs:

a) *avusamaŋ* (big chief)·····*ruvaniau*
maluvtsivtsik (consanguineous chiefs)·····*tsaluŋi*, *tfalas* (south), *tfalas* (north)
naitsu anumax (affinal chiefs)·····*lusiguaŋ*, *atsinajaŋ*, *alijulaŋ*, *taraʔatea*, *gumul*, *matsiliat*, *voto*, *tfalusaŋiu*.

b) *pinairaratsə* (representatives of the big chief of other villages)·····*tfalas* (north) a representative of the *tsulivuaŋ*, the big chief of Kunanao village.
tavalaŋ a representative of the *karaŋiraŋ*, the big chief of Kulalus village.

c) *utsif atsipoŋ* (vassals of the chiefs)·····*ruvaniau*, *tsapalai*, *tavalaŋ*, *suajoŋ*,

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tsuvulavaŋ, lusaliaŋ, suli'i, laluriaŋ. 643

d) *sasaolaŋ* (servants of the *avusamaŋ* household)·····
·····two households of commoner, they are not hereditary.

B. Religious chiefs:

a) *para'are a malɔva* (a priest of the five-years-feast)·····
·····*atsinajaŋ* (Paiwan)
para'are a pusav (priest of the six-years-feast and priest of agricultural rituals)·····*tsivuluvaŋ giligilao* (Chimo)
para'are na ara (priest of head-hunting ceremony)·····
·····*tsipulaŋaŋ* (Chimo)

b) *paraiŋaŋ* (priest of the hunting grounds, one for each ground)·····determined by divination

c) *puliŋao* (priestess)·····two Paiwan, two Chimo.

C. Military chiefs:

rara'atsaŋ (chivalry chief)·····*tsavalit*

rara'atsaŋ tsalala (lesser chivelry chiefs)·····number of person are not fixed, promoted by military achievements.

D. Tribal councils:

a) *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*—Members of *malaval a maluvtsivtsik*, the administrative council or aristocratic council consist of all aristocratic household-heads. *utsiputsipoŋ*, vassals of the chiefs may attain the council but they have no voice in the council. The administative council is headed by the big chief *ruvaniau*. 623

b) *malaval tsalala'alaŋ*—The villagers' meeting consists of all household-heads of the village. It is also assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*.

c) *malaval ta palisilisiaŋ*—Ritual day assembly it is assembled by the big chief *ruvaniau*, but *para'are*, the priest is the chief speaker.

d) *malaval na rara'atsaŋ* or chavalry meeting—The meeting is held everynight. In occasions of head-hunting expedition or war, it is assembled and headed by *rara'atsaŋ*.

FEUDALISM AND TRIBUTARY SYSTEM

A. Feudalism

The feudalism of Chala'abus village which resembles that of the ancient Chinese system is called *moli·umax*. The representative of a feudal lord is called *pinairaratsɔ*. The big chief *ruvaniau* had nine (possibly more than nine) *atunaŋaŋ* or dominions in other villages. They are shown as follows: 631 621

atunaŋaŋ village		*pinairaratsɔ* household	
pailus	„	*tsamatsiaŋ*	„
vuŋalit	„	*taluvuŋaŋ*	„
butsuŋnok	„	*tsaododo*	„
tsuvutsa'ataŋ	„	*tsulimodo*	„

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pulti	„	*talialup*	„
aviayay	„	*tsiyulol*	„
tsaovarul	„	*ruvaniau*	„
ralide	„	?	
atsa²atsaray	„	?	

B. Tax and labour

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All dwelling lands (*imaray*), hunting grounds (*aliupay*), fishing grounds (*pana*), cultivating lands (*atunayay*) and things above the land were owned by aristocratic households. A commoner in order to have some lands to till, some grounds for hunting and fishing, and stones and fuel to be collected in the valleys or on the mountains, must submit himself to some aristocratic household as a serf (*umutal*), and is obliged to pay taxes to render feudal labours to his feudal lord. Taxes are of the following kinds:

a) *wadis na satsəmul*—tax for hunting animal
b) *wadis na pana*—tax for fishing
c) *wadis na atsay*—tax for domesticating animal
d) *itsivoy*—wine tax
e) *iluplup*—tax for collecting fuel
f) *pa²a*—tax for trading
g) *pa²a lura ta putsel*—tax for marriage

Feudal labours of a serf to his feudal lord are of the following kinds:

a) Land tillage (*pata²alay*): Each aristocratic household has preserved a portion of tilling land for its own. This portion of land is called *vavutəloy*. The *vavutəloy* of the *ruvaniau* household was tilled by all commoners of the village. Other *vavutəloy* were respectively tilled by serfs of those households. All products of these *vavutəloy* belong to the aristocratic households. This land-tillage system has been employed in Chala'abus village to substitute the land-tax.

b) House-building and house repairing (*jirayuts*): The commoners have the obligation to build or repair houses for chiefs. All commoners are obliged to render this kind of service to the *ruvaniau* and *sadilapay* households.

c) Miscellaneous duties (*painuma a tsəvatsəvuy*): Commoners must render services to chiefs' households in their marriage, funeral or other occasions of the same kind.

d) Travelling service (*putsatsalay*): A chief may require certain commoner to accompany him when travelling.

C. Tributary and audience

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The representative of the big chief in other villages must pay visits and tributes to his overlord the *ruvaniau* household after the harvests of millet and taro. Tributes presented by a *pinairaratse* to his overlord include 20 bundles of millet ears, a bottle of wine, a pig, 10 bunches of betel nut, a bag of groundnuts. In time of the five-years-feast, the chiefs of Chala'abus will be invited to visit villages where they have their representatives. At the death of the *pinairaratsə*, the overlord must condole the family of the dead and at the same time appoints the *usam* or heir of the family to succeed

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his father's office. If the *pinairaratsə* has no heir or if his works were not regarded as satisfactory, the overlord may appoint another household to the office. Taxes collected by the *pinairaratse* need not be forward to their overlords, they may be consumed by the *pinairaratsə* himself. 651

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

A. Naming system

A name indicates one's social status. They are of three grades: 565

a) Names of the big chiefs:
men's names: *arutsaŋal, tfanupak, tsivuluaŋ, giligilao, palilas, ləŋuŋai, trotsə.*
women's names: *rumurumaŋ, moni, vonum, slup, lutsium, tsipulaŋ.*

b) Names of the second grade chiefs:
men's names: *apitsuaŋ, ulili, pulalujaŋ, tsimuluŋai, tsama, gulagul, raŋaraŋ, apaŋ, tsumul.*
women's names: *tsiankim, lavlav, kalskus, tsə'o, rere, ateves, kumara, moakai.*

c) Names of the commoners:
men's names: *maitsəl, guluts, tsuvi* and others.
women's names: *saolalui, alalu, vais, kai* and others.

The *utsiputsipoŋ* have the same names as commoners. The name of an aristocrat is decided in a kins' meeting. To acquire a name above his class he must get a permission from the big chief. The name of a commoner is given by his parents or determined by a divination.

B. Tattooing (*voŋtsik*)

Tattooing is one of the privileges enjoyed by the aristocratic class. A commoner may have tattoo if he has military achievements and is so permitted by the chief. Men tattoo their breasts, backs, arms, and legs; women only tattoo their forearms and backs of hand. The designs indicate their social status, only the big chiefs may have human figures (*pinarutsautsauaŋ*) and snake designs (*pinavulvuluwaŋ*). 565 304

C. House decoration

Houses are distinguished by two kinds. The houses of the big chief or the second grade chiefs are always larger in size and more decorative. In front of these houses, there are larger front yards (*assasawaŋ*) and platforms (*aluvuluwaŋ*) which serve as the meeting places of the villagers. On the platform a stone pillar is erected to represent their ancestor which is called *saotsaolai*. House posts, beams, walls, and storage boxes may be decorated with human figure or snake designs. The houses of the commoners, include houses of *utsiputsipoŋ*, are always smaller ir size and can not be decorated. 565 531 341

D. Clothing and ornaments

Clothing and ornaments also indicate one's social status. The aristocratic class wear clothes of dark colours—dark blue, dark purple, or black colour. The clothes of the aristocratic class are always embroidered or design-weaved, while the commoners are prohibited to wear such. Several kinds of clothe—*tsapo aliulao* (clothe made of leopard's skin), *vajal a tsinuŋuaŋ* (shoulder cloth), *katin a veŋtsiaŋ* (a kind of trousers) 565 291

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565 are only allowed to be worn by chiefs; and embroidered ***lionpao*** (long clothe), ***koŋ na kinima²aŋ*** (long skirt) and ***kasuja tsino at səvanaŋ*** (trousers) by chiefess.

[301] Ornaments, especially ***lailai*** (feather ornaments), ***patal na paŋaŋiliŋ*** (hat-ornament made of leopard's teeth), ***ta-ata*** (shoulder ornament made of a kind of shell), ***tsalaral*** (silver shoulder ornament), ***aliatpula*** (glass bead necklace) are only allowed to be used by nobles.

E. Right to perform ceremonies

565 554 a) Felicitation on having an elder offspring is only performed by the nobles. A gun and some iron ware must be sent to the maternal relatives on this occasion. This is called ***ləmiči***.

565 583 b) A bride price is called ***činiliči***. According to the social status, it is divided into three classes: ***mamatsaŋiraŋ***, ***maluntsivtsik*** and ***tala²alalak***. ***mamatsaŋiran*** consists of a piece of cultivated land (***atunaŋaŋ***) a household of serf (***wadis***), five kinds of iron articles; ***maluvtsivtsik*** only two or three kinds of iron article; and ***tala²alalak*** only two or three iron articles. The marriage ceremony also differs between nobles and commoners.

764 565 c) Funeral rites: At the death of a chief, the whole village wears mourning dresses for five days, ***maluvtsivtsik*** and ***utsiputsipoŋ*** a month. At the death of a ***matuvtsivtsik***, his relatives and ***utsiputsipoŋ*** wear mourning dresses for a month, and his ***unutel*** five days. At the death of a commoner, his relatives wear weeds for a month.

565 **F. Privilege from criminal trial**

[687] a) A commoner will be fined a penalty of a pig, a bottle of wine, several iron articles by his lese-majesty (***napanuŋatsə***) to a chief. A noble commits no lese-majesty.

[534] b) If a commoner's house is carved, his body tattooed, and his clothes decorated, he is regarded as having committes a crime of arrogation (***napatsəra***). He will be fined a penalty of the same as that of a lese-majesty.

[685] c) The nobles commit no crime of robbery (***səmav***).

[682] d) A murderer must pay the equivalence of the price of the murdered which differs according to one's social status. If a commoner murdered a noble, all properties of his own as well as his brothers will be confiscated, and he himself will be exiled from the village.

[684] e) The nobles commit no crime of adultery, but a noble may ask penalty from one who commits adultery with his or her spouse. A commoner who ravishes a chiefess will be heavily punished and exiled from the village.